The expansive present

The Expansive Present
A New Model of Christian Time

Naomi Haynes

One of the most productive lines of inquiry in the anthropology of Christianity has explored how Christian adherence structures time. The organizing idea here has been rupture, whether the break with the pagan past at conversion or the expected break of the apocalyptic future. In contrast to this "punctuated" view of time, this article examines a Christian temporality focused not on a past or future break, but rather on an expansive present. For Pentecostals on the Zambian Copperbelt, this expansive present is structured by the narrative of the past in the form of scripture, which is perpetually relived. The Pentecostal future is also brought near to the present by the expectations of the prosperity gospel. By expanding the present along these lines, believers reject the logic of submission that structures many forms of both Christian and capitalist time. An analysis of the expansive present therefore moves us beyond the language of rupture that has been central to the anthropology of Christianity. It also speaks to concerns beyond the study of religion by exploring the experience of—and critical engagement with—capitalist time.

If there is one thing that anthropologists working in other fields know about the anthropology of Christianity, it is that conversion entails "radical and absolute" rupture (Harris 2007:22). For those of us who work in sub-Saharan Africa, this rupture is often articulated in terms of the oft-quoted Pentecostal phrase, "Make a complete break with the past" (see Meyer 1998)! Here the call to radical change turns on the imperative to cut off what Pentecostals believe to be dangerous social relationships, especially ties to unconverted kin, lest they become vectors of demonic influence (e.g., van de Kamp 2011; van Dijk 1998; van Wyk 2014; cf. Engelke 2010). Conversion also entails rupture at the level of subjectivity. Of particular significance here is the Protestant requirement that believers "pray earnestly" (Shoaps 2002) and sincerely (Keane 2002), a requirement through which conversion reconfigures pre-Christian conceptions of agency and personhood (Keane 2007). Finally, Christian adherence entails the expectation of further rupture in the future. Some of the most sophisticated theoretical work in the anthropology of Christianity has focused on the implications of living in "the time that remains," as Giorgio Agamben (2010) has it, before the second coming of Christ and with it the end of time itself (e.g., Bialecki 2009; Engelke and Robbins 2010; Guyer 2007; Harding 2000; Marshall 2009; Robbins 2002).

With regard to the past, the present, and the future, then, Christian time is said to be "punctuated" (Guyer 2007), divided into seasons, epochs, or, to use language I discuss below, "dispensations." Perhaps the most important implication of Christian rupture for the discipline of anthropology is the challenge that it poses to what Joel Robbins (2007) calls "continuity thinking"—that is, the tendency to paper over cultural change and focus instead on the similarities between the way things are and the way things have always been. In contrast, Christianity troubles continuity thinking because it "represents time as a dimension in which radical change is possible" (Robbins 2007:10). Robbins's argument has prompted numerous discussions of conversion as rupture (e.g., Daswani 2011, 2015; Engelke 2010; Handman 2010; Haynes 2012), including counter-arguments that make a case for Christianity as a religion of continuity (e.g., Hann 2007, 2014) or that demonstrate the ongoing importance of traditional practices for Christians of all sorts (e.g., Chua 2012*a*).

I have no wish to quarrel with any of these analyses; in the discussion that follows, my aim is not to argue against the importance of rupture as such for many Christian communities. However, I have found that Pentecostal Christianity on the Zambian Copperbelt, where I have carried out fieldwork since 2006, does not fit easily into the established frameworks of a break with the past or an expected break in the future. Understanding the experience of Copperbelt Pentecostals has therefore required me to develop a new model of Christian time that is not defined by ruptures with the past or the future but is instead situated in an expansive present. Let me be clear from the outset that "expansive present" is my term and not one employed by my informants. While the model I present below follows from a close examination of Copperbelt Pentecostal practice, the analytical framework is my own, developed in conversation with anthropological theory. One could therefore argue that there is a difference between my argument and the discussions of rupture I have just outlined; while Copperbelt believers never say that they are trying to expand the present, it is clear that many other Christians describe their religious experience in the language of a break with the past and/or an expected break in the future. However, my primary interest in Christian rupture is in its role as an analytical category, and in these terms rupture can be productively compared with the expansive present. I am conscious that in putting forward yet

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another analysis of Christian time I am contributing to a densely populated theoretical field, and we might therefore ask what is to be gained by the notion of the expansive present. There are two ways that my argument takes us forward.

First, a discussion of the expansive present contributes to the anthropology of Christianity by moving debates about Christian time beyond rupture and continuity. As I have already noted, these ideas have been extremely productive. However, there are moments when it feels like rupture has run out of new things to tell us, at least insofar as it has been employed as a measuring rod for transformation (see Robbins 2009). There are only so many ways to make the point that conversion entails rupture on some fronts, continuity on others. Here it is worth underscoring that this was never the work that rupture, at least as the concept has been developed by Robbins, was intended to do. Robbins's goal in highlighting the radical changes associated with Christian adherence was, as I have already noted, to make an intervention in anthropology, rather than to propose a framework for interpreting the nature of conversion. Interventions like Robbins's represent the anthropology of Christianity at its best—that is, as building on ethnography of Christian communities to develop models that speak to the discipline more broadly. In this spirit, the second contribution of this article is an analysis that addresses the temporality of late capitalism. In particular, I argue that the expansive Pentecostal present represents a critique of the logic of submission according to which capitalist, as well as many forms of Christian, time are structured. The Pentecostals I study do not sacrifice the present in hopes of attaining some miraculously redeemed future but instead work to bring both the past and the future into a present pervaded by miraculous energy. Pentecostal adherence therefore represents an important example of how people negotiate the demands of life under late capitalism through religious "labour in/of time" (Bear 2014:6).

I begin by discussing how Pentecostals on the Copperbelt engage with scripture and, more specifically, their efforts to relive the biblical past in the present through a typological reading of the text. This approach to the Bible is structured by the theological framework of the prosperity gospel, and an exploration of this movement turns our attention to how Copperbelt Pentecostal time brings the future close, so much so that it nearly encompasses the present. I then compare the Pentecostal expansive present—which includes both the biblical past and the radically foreshortened prosperity gospel future—with other models of Christian time. Specifically, I look at the connection between dispensationalist and late capitalist time, both of which, I suggest, following Jane Guyer (2007), hinge on a logic of submission. In the light of these other models, Pentecostal time emerges as a critique not only of other forms of Christianity but also of capitalism. I conclude by reflecting on how getting beyond rupture in the anthropology of Christianity allows this subfield to continue to affect the discipline more generally.

Although my analysis draws on material from a variety of Christian communities, the primary ethnographic context for my argument is Nsofu,[1] a township with a population of ~25,000 people located on the outskirts of the Copperbelt city of Kitwe. Nsofu is locally known as a middle-class township, and many residents are employed in the public or mining sectors; others earn a good living through trade. However, Nsofu is also home to a significant number of poor people who occupy the under-construction houses that ring this growing neighborhood. The economic diversity of the township is an important part of what makes social life in Nsofu work, as it affords relationships that reach across economic status that help people to "move" (*ukusela*) or progress in life through, among other things, the help of local patrons. Pentecostal[2] churches have an important part to play in making moving happen, and believers rely on the relationships that form in their congregations to move "by the Spirit," advancing with regard to spiritual status in addition to other forms of progress (Haynes 2017). The experience of moving by the Spirit infuses everyday life in Nsofu, at least for believers, with a kind of miraculous, magical energy, and this energy is in a central feature of life in the expansive present (see Haynes 2018), which we are now in a position to discuss in detail.

Expanding the Present with the Biblical Past[3]

In order to understand Pentecostal time, it is helpful to compare it with time in other Christian traditions. The form of punctuated Christian time that is best known in anthropology is premillennial dispensationalism (see Ammerman 1987; Crapanzano 2000; Harding 2000; Robbins 1997, 2002; Webster 2013). Dispensationalism divides history into different epochs, or "dispensations," during which God has acted or will act in the world in a way specific to that historical period. So God related to the world differently in the Old Testament than he did in the New and in the time of the apostles than in the present "church age." This latter, current dispensation will end when Jesus returns to earth and believers are raptured ahead of the coming tribulation, which will culminate in the literal millennial (i.e., thousand-year) reign of Jesus before the last judgment.

In the theological framework of dispensationalism, the Bible serves not only as a record of history but also as a prophetic

1. The name of this township, as well as the names of most individuals and congregations used in this article, are pseudonyms.

2. Most of my informants on the Copperbelt are what would properly be called "neo-Pentecostals"—that is, believers whose faith has been more influenced by the prosperity gospel, which I discuss below, than by the ascetic piety of more traditional or "classical" Pentecostal denominations (Corton and Marshall-Fratani 2001:7). In lumping these different religious generations together under the umbrella term "Pentecostal," my aim is not only to simplify the text but also, and more importantly, to highlight the common practices among the people who I call "believers," despite their theological and historical differences.

3. Some of the ideas in this section have been developed in an earlier form in a chapter exploring how Pentecostals on the Copperbelt do theology (Haynes 2018).

announcement of exactly what will happen in the future. The task of Christians who adhere to a dispensationalist doctrine is to make accurate analogical or typological connections between what they read in the Bible and what they see around them, whether turmoil in the Middle East or predictions of a future global currency (e.g., Webster 2013:173–202). In this framework:

> Bible prophecy as it is practiced in everyday life is not so much a system or set of religious beliefs as it is a narrative mode of knowing current history. Current events and the daily news are not neutral, secular phenomena that exist independently and are subjected to religious interpretation by Christians. They are signs of the times. (Harding 2000:233)

Fundamentalists therefore "read history backwards," as Susan Harding (2000:230; see also McGovern 2012) puts it, scanning the horizon for a future that they know from the Bible will arrive "like a thief in the night,"[4] when others least expect it. In contrast, while Pentecostals on the Copperbelt also employ a typological reading of scripture (see Haynes 2018), this interpretive work is less focused on properly interpreting the signs of the times than with the performative force of the biblical narrative in their personal lives. For these believers, the Bible is less a predictor of the future, less a template of what is to come, than it is a model of—and more importantly, a model for—the present. This particular way of using scripture is informed in part by Pentecostal ritual life, which emphasizes the immediate experience of the Holy Spirit through practices such as prophecy, glossolalia, healing, and deliverance from demons (i.e., exorcism). As the Pentecostal theologian Amos Yong (2010) observes, because contemporary believers have personally witnessed supernatural "signs and wonders," to borrow a biblical turn of phrase, they are easily able to identify with similar experiences recorded in scripture. In other words, when Pentecostals read the Bible, they recognize their own stories of healing or deliverance or prophetic utterance in the text. The result is what Yong calls a "'this is that!' hermeneutic" in which "the 'this' of the present [connects] with the 'that' of (especially) the apostolic life . . . and vice versa" (Yong 2010:89).

The process of connecting with scripture that Yong describes shapes the way that Pentecostals understand their personal pasts. Writing about the Ghanaian Church of Pentecost, Girish Daswani (2015) shows that one of the key mechanisms through which believers engage the past is to reimagine it in terms of the biblical narrative. Daswani provides the example of a young Pentecostal prophet called Albert, who compared his migration to Accra with the movement of Joseph from Canaan to Egypt in the book of Genesis. Like Joseph, Albert had faced many trials at the hands of his own family, and in the light of this similarity, he believed, again like Joseph, that he was destined for greatness. When believers like Albert read the Bible, then, they acquire "a new relationship to Christian history and its biblical characters . . . a sense of a shared past and a common futurity" (Daswani 2015:25).

This shared past and common futurity is not just a means of making sense of personal struggles by comparing them with the experience of someone like Joseph. Believers are not just identifying with characters in scripture the way that we might identify with the protagonist of our favorite novel. Rather, through these narrative practices, Pentecostals are inserting themselves into the text, and in so doing bringing the biblical past into an expansive present where the stories of the Bible are lived over and over again. To demonstrate how this works, I begin with an example from a Pentecostal church in Nsofu that I call Key of David. Each January the leaders of this congregation choose a theme for the New Year, which is drawn from a key text—a practice common in other congregations as well. This theme is printed on a colorful banner and hung at the front of the sanctuary; banners from previous years are also displayed. Each banner is phrased in the form of a proclamation, for example, "2014, My Season of Blessing and Enlargement, 1 Chronicles 4:9"[5] and "2012, My Season of Distinction and Rest, Exodus 33:14–16."[6] These verses give accounts of Jabez and Moses, respectively, but in mobilizing these narratives in their annual theme, members of Key of David have framed them in the first person; 2012 is *my* season of distinction and rest, not Moses's. Another example here comes from a Facebook post written by a member of Key of David, a young man I call Calvin. In July 2016, Calvin posted a picture of himself standing in the church building, along with the following modified verses from the Bible, which record the patriarch Isaac blessing his son Jacob:

> So he went to him and kissed him. When Isaac caught the smell of his clothes, he blessed him and said, "Ah, the smell of my son (Calvin) is like the smell of a field that the LORD has blessed. May God give you (Calvin) heaven's dew and earth's richness—an abundance of grain and new wine Genesis 27 vs 27–28. [I] am blessed of the LORD."

In these examples from Key of David, Pentecostals are clearly positioning themselves in the biblical narrative. This is most obvious in Calvin's Facebook post, where he added his own name in the text, but it is not difficult to see in Key of David's yearly themes, in prayers for a childless woman offered to the "God of Sarah" (see Haynes 2013), or, as I have described in greater detail elsewhere (Haynes 2018), in the sermonizing efforts of Nsofu Pentecostals, both leaders and laypeople. One final example here comes from the autobiography of the prominent Zambian Pentecostal leader Bishop Dr. Apostle Peter

4. 1 Thessalonians 5:2.

5. "Jabez was more honorable than his brothers. His mother had named him Jabez, saying, 'I gave birth to him in pain.'"

6. "The Lord replied, 'My Presence will go with you, and I will give you rest.' Then Moses said to him, 'If your Presence does not go with us, do not send us up from here. How will anyone know that you are pleased with me and with your people unless you go with us? What else will distinguish me and your people from all the other people on the face of the earth?'"

Rhoyd Ndhlovu, entitled, *Zambia's Watchman* (Ndhlovu 2016). The epigraph to the volume is a verse from the book of Ezekiel, which is drawn from a longer section of scripture chronicling God's calling of the prophet: "Son of man, I have made you a watchman for the people of Israel; so hear the word I speak and give them warning from me."[7] Taken together, the title and the epigraph suggest that Ndhlovu has put himself in Ezekiel's place, a move that he makes clear as he recounts his role as a counselor to each of Zambia's presidents.[8] About his relationship with current president Edgar Lungu, for example, Ndhlovu writes, "I have the privilege to provide Jesus' ministry into [Lungu's] life. I am doing what The Lord has called me to do. I am a Zambian watchman upon the towers. I am ready to blow the trumpets to warn the nation and for The Lord to be glorified" (Ndhlovu 2016:122). In describing his life and ministry in these terms, Ndhlovu takes Ezekiel's place in the narrative of Ezekiel's life and ministry, standing upon the towers to warn the nation and its leaders, just as Ezekiel did. In so doing, Bishop Ndhlovu becomes Ezekiel.

These examples demonstrate that the practice of inserting oneself in the text is shared by all Zambian Pentecostals, from lay members of small congregations like Calvin to national figures like Bishop Ndhlovu. When believers insert themselves in the stories of the Bible, they become its protagonists, taking the place of people like Jacob or Ezekiel in the latter's recorded biographies. Pentecostals are able to place themselves in the text in this way because they have taken the Bible as their grounding mythological framework. As Birgit Meyer (1999) has shown, conversion to Pentecostalism involves restructuring the religious landscape according to a cosmological narrative that supersedes, rather than negates, the pre-Christian understanding of spiritual forces, "translating" them into Christian categories of angels, demons, and so forth (also see Robbins 2009). As the Bible becomes the primary narrative for Pentecostals, its "historical metaphors" become today's "mythical realities" (Sahlins 1981). As Marshall Sahlins (1981) puts it, writing about Polynesia, "Mythical incidents constitute archetypal situations. The experiences of celebrated mythical protagonists are re-experienced by the living in analogous circumstances" (14). It is not just that Albert's experience is like Joseph's, then; rather, Albert *becomes* Joseph just as Hawaiian kings "[became] mythical heroes" (Sahlins 1981:14, emphasis removed). "The event thus enters culture as an instance of a received category, the worldly token of a presupposed type" (Sahlins 1981:7).[9]

Here it is worth returning to the distinction between dispensationalism and Pentecostalism with which this section began. Like Pentecostals, dispensationalists also employ a typological reading of scripture that seeks to draw connections between the biblical text and life in the here and now. In this case, while there are many potential tokens for the type of, for example, "the Antichrist" (Mussolini, Saddam Hussein, etc.), in the dispensationalist model of history, only one person can fill that role. For dispensationalists, the narrative arc of scripture is both linear and singular. Because the story of the Bible will happen only once, they will know that the world is about to end when the true Antichrist finally appears.[10] In contrast, the Pentecostal view of the biblical text is cyclical. As one of the Ghanaian Pentecostals studied by Kasper Knudsen (2016:221; see also Deeb 2009:247) put it:

> All stages have parallels in another time and everything repeats itself in parallel stages. That is why, you know, we can compare the church's expansion with the state's expansion, for instance. Or why you can find parallels in the Bible to explain the stages in life you are in currently. Everything has already happened and it will happen again. What determines our future is that we identify the right stage we are in and that we react to that stage. What we profess today will determine our future.

In this Pentecostal reading of scripture, there have been multiple Josephs, multiple Marys, and multiple Isaacs. Pentecostal typology is therefore not concerned with finding the proper identity of *the* Antichrist, but rather with reproducing again and again the stories of the Bible in the experience of *a* Jabez or *a* Moses.

In the light of this iterative view of biblical history, it is possible to argue that for Pentecostals there has only ever been one set of protagonists, only one narrative lived over and over again as key moments from scripture are "repeated forward into the future" (Tomlinson 2014:166). Through this process, Biblical figures are effectively reincarnated in the present (cf. Peel 1984:118), thereby making the past and present contemporary, occupying the same timespace. As Nancy Munn puts it, writing about the Apache practice of "speaking with names" (see Basso 1988), "by taking the ancestor's position [a person] transforms an ancestral 'there-then' . . . into his/her own 'here-now'" (Munn 1992:113; also see Bielo 2017; Marshall

7. Ezekiel 3:17.

8. Bishop Ndhlovu's status as a presidential adviser is a central theme of the book, and the cover includes photographs of all six of Zambia's presidents, past and present.

9. Given the significant differences between the contemporary Copperbelt and historical Hawaii, one might reasonably ask whether we can effectively apply conclusions about the latter to the former. While agriculturalist Hawaii is certainly different from the mining economy of the Copperbelt, time in both cases operates in a cyclical manner, with seasons and harvests structuring the first and the boom and bust of a globalized extraction economy (see Haynes 2017:21–24; Macmillan 1993) structuring the second.

10. Webster (2013:71) describes this ongoing quest to identify the Antichrist as "fickle," noting as he does the flexibility of biblical prophecy, the openendedness that allows each generation to believe that they are living in the last days. While it is possible to read this analysis as an instance of the sort of cyclical experience of biblical time that I describe in this article (i.e., that one potential incarnation of the Antichrist follows another, and another, and another), this practice paradoxically serves to push the future ever farther away, while for Pentecostals it has the opposite effect (see below).

2009:89).[11] This shared timespace, common to both biblical heroes and contemporary believers, is what I call the "expansive present."

One way of further exploring the distinction between dispensationalist and Pentecostal approaches to scripture is to employ two categories developed by Valerio Valeri (2014 [1994]), which he calls "syntagmatic" and "paradigmatic" relations. Historical events in a syntagmatic relation "are established between events qua events, as defined by their position in the temporal chain," while in paradigmatic relations, historical events are related "as members of classes of action" (Valeri 2014 [1994]:120). Paradigmatic elements can also "substitute for one another in the same context" (Deeb 2009:247). While Valeri argues that these models are neither entirely opposed nor totally separable, it is reasonable to suggest that one or the other will be emphasized in a given set of historical or social circumstances (e.g., Deeb 2009). In the two Christian frameworks we are exploring here, dispensationalist typologies rely primarily on syntagmatic relations in which the biblical text serves as the "point of origin for a sequential historical narrative" (Deeb 2009:248) that includes the present church and will culminate in the eschaton. Pentecostal typology, in contrast, is primarily informed by paradigmatic relations in which "historical and contemporary persons are viewed as living lives in parallel" (Deeb 2009:249).

Valeri developed his model of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations in response to J. D. Y. Peel's (1984) idea of "stereotypic" reproduction, which I have drawn on briefly in the above discussion. Part of the problem with Peel's analysis, according to Valeri, is that it is focused simply on how the Ijesha "strive to *make* history repeat itself" (Peel 1984:111), and in this emphasis, Valeri argues, Peel falls prey to the sort of "continuity thinking" further decried by Robbins nearly 20 years later. While Valeri shares with Peel an interest in how the past is brought into the present, he argues that the reason that this so often takes the form of paradigmatic relations is not just that people need to make history repeat itself. Instead, paradigmatic relationships are important because "the events of the remembered past . . . exemplify rules" (Valeri 2014 [1994]:123). This is certainly the case for Pentecostals on the Copperbelt, who are not just trying to reproduce the past for its own sake. Rather, their goal in bringing the past into the expansive present is to exemplify—and more importantly, realize—a rule in the form of a specific causal relation, the structure of which is outlined in scripture.[12] So, for example, Calvin positions himself in the story of Jacob at the moment of Jacob's blessing in order to obtain a blessing for himself. This is why Calvin concluded his Facebook post with the words, "[I] am blessed of the LORD"; because Calvin knew the story of Jacob, he also knew what the outcome of putting himself into this story would be. The Pentecostal practice of bringing the biblical past into the present therefore has implications for the way that believers view the future. In the next section, I show that just as the biblical past has been incorporated into the Pentecostal present, the horizons of the future have also been brought extremely close by expectations of divine blessing, expectations that have been shaped by the prosperity gospel.

The (Pentecostal) Future Is *Now*

The central message of the prosperity gospel is that Christian adherence should result not only in the saving of a person's soul but also in her bodily, material, and social well-being (Bowler 2013; Coleman 2000). According to my informants on the Copperbelt, these hoped-for blessings are very close at hand. Their commitment to the immediacy of expected blessing is again guided by the experiences of biblical figures, who, as one believer put it, received answers to their prayers before they had even said, "Amen!" (see Haynes 2019). One of the first Pentecostal choruses I learned to sing in Bemba lists characters from the Bible—Mary, Jonah, John—who, in the words of the song, "saw God's blessing." The refrain promises contemporary believers a similar outcome: "Wait," the song proclaims, "and you will see the blessing of God" (*Lolela*, *walamona mapalo ya ba Lesa*). The tense of the verb "to see" (*ukumona*) is hodiernal, referring to something that will happen later in the same day.[13] The message of this song is clear: not only will you receive a blessing just as Mary and John did but even though the song asks you to wait, you will not wait long—the blessing will arrive before you have gone to bed.

This emphasis on the close temporal proximity of virtually all available forms of divine blessing makes the prosperity gospel unique as a Christian doctrine. Many evangelical Christians, for instance, who do not typically subscribe to the prosperity gospel, have been influenced by categories sometimes attributed to the theologian George Eldon Ladd,[14] who describes the kingdom of God as both "already" and "not yet" here

11. Here it is worth pointing out that these analogical interpretations are not without contestation. A pastor may have a different interpretation to the members of his congregation, for instance, while one pastor may differ from another (for a longer discussion of these contestations, see Haynes 2018).

12. This prospective engagement with scripture makes my informants a bit different from some of their brethren from other Pentecostal traditions. In contrast to Yong's "This is that!" hermeneutic, in which believers identify with the experience of scripture on the basis of what has already happened to them, the examples I have provided here indicate that Pentecostals on the Copperbelt are looking not to what has already been but rather to what will—indeed, must—be. Rather than a "This is that!" hermeneutic, then, we might say that when Copperbelt Pentecostals insert themselves in scripture their cry is, "Let this be that!" (cf. Siegel 2003:149; see also Haynes 2018).

13. As with many Bantu languages, Bemba has a separate future tense referring to things that will happen in the more distant future, which in Town Bemba, the dialect spoken on the Copperbelt, refers to anything after tomorrow.

14. Ladd was not the only twentieth-century theologian to point out this core tension (see, e.g., Cullman 1967).

(see Bialecki 2009; Ladd 1996). In this framework, although the resurrection of Jesus has "already" secured the ultimate victory of the Christian God over Satan, the full impact of these events is "not yet" visible and will not be until Jesus comes again at the end of time. In contrast to Ladd's view, the horizon of expectation in the prosperity gospel eschews the "not yet" for a full-throated "already," in what Pentecostal theologian Allan Anderson calls a "realized eschatology" (Anderson 2002:530; see also Anderson 1987). As Ruth Marshall (2009) puts it, "while on the one hand the Born-Again [i.e., Pentecostal] project is concerned with how to guarantee eternal life in the hereafter, it finds its principle force through the staging of a claim for justice and a demand for 'life more abundant' in the here and now" (65). This "demand for 'life more abundant'" was made very clearly in one of the first Pentecostal sermons that I heard on the Copperbelt. Taking the pulpit that church members had positioned at the front of a rented hotel ballroom, Pastor Kufuna told his congregation that he was not content with the knowledge that he would be blessed after he died and went to heaven. Rising up on his toes, his congregation buzzing with excitement, Pastor Kufuna proclaimed, "I don't want my 'pie in the sky,' I want my pie *now*!" (see Coleman 2011).

In the light of this prosperity gospel emphasis on the immediacy of blessing, it is not surprising that although Pentecostals in Nsofu believe that Jesus will eventually return to earth and banish Satan, this knowledge plays almost no part in their day-to-day religious lives. Pentecostals on the Copperbelt express very little hope or dread or expectation in the eschaton—indeed, they give it basically no attention at all. Perhaps the best example here comes from the responses to two separate crises faced by people in Nsofu, one local and the other global in scale. In late March 2008, three men were attacked in Nsofu in the course of one night. Each was on his way home late in the evening and one, the husband of a young Pentecostal woman named Bana Mercy, was beaten so badly that he died on his front doorstep. People in the neighborhood were understandably anxious after these attacks, especially since violent crime was rare in Nsofu. Later that same year the global financial crisis struck, and the Copperbelt was plunged into a time of widespread uncertainty. The price of copper on the global market plummeted, and in response companies connected to the mining industry laid off hundreds if not thousands of workers. As a result, school fees and outstanding debts went unpaid, spreading the economic impact of the crash beyond the mining sector. Unlike Christians in other places, who, faced with events like the first Gulf War or the attacks of September 11, 2001, were seized with millennial expectation and worry (Robbins 1997; Vilaça 2017), Pentecostals in Nsofu did not connect these small or big crises to a coming apocalypse. Instead, they turned their attention to prayer and "spiritual warfare," commanding an immediate end to Satan's activities in this life and a restoration of their expectations of prosperity, whether in the form of a safe middle-class neighborhood or a functioning economy. Nsofu Pentecostals therefore foreshorten the horizon of Christian expectation considerably, focusing the possibility of divine intervention on the here and now rather than the end of time.

Just as the apocalypse does not appear to compel believers on the Copperbelt, neither are they, as Pastor Kufuna's sermon suggests, terribly attracted by the promise of heaven. Here, a conversation with several Pentecostals provides a helpful example. One afternoon, Bana Sinkala and I were sitting together in her living room with two young Pentecostal women named Esther and Margaret, when Bana Chimwemwe[15] burst through the door. It was clear that Bana Chimwemwe had a story to tell, and it came spilling out as she flopped down on Bana Sinkala's faded brown sofa. The previous day, she had been traveling to Lusaka on a minibus that had narrowly avoided an accident, and Bana Chimwemwe recounted in harrowing detail how she had nearly been killed. In response to the tale, we shook our heads and lamented Zambia's poor roads, glad to hear that our friend had survived the all-too-common occurrence of a road accident. As Bana Chimwemwe caught her breath, she began to reflect on what might have happened had she not been so lucky. "You know," she said, "if I had died in that crash and gone to heaven, I would have asked God to send me back to earth. There are too many things that I'm waiting for here," she continued, "so much I still haven't received . . . I haven't gotten remarried, don't have a house, or a car, or nice clothes."

As Bana Chimwemwe's voice trailed off, the other women began to weigh in. It was true, said Bana Sinkala, that the blessings they were praying for were not things that they could expect to receive in heaven. At this point I broke in to ask why this was so—wouldn't heaven be a place where everything was (finally) perfect? Bana Sinkala responded in her typical matter-of-fact tone. "In heaven people don't get married," she began, "Jesus said so."[16] "Nor is there anything like fashion, no cars or nice furniture," she went on, gesturing ironically to the china hutch on the opposite wall, its small glass windows veined with a network of cracks. "In heaven, we will only have one dress," Bana Sinkala continued, as the other women nodded in agreement, "and it's not a nice one! It has a high waistline, a full skirt, and long sleeves." Here her fingers traced the contours of her imagined heavenly attire, closing around her narrow wrists to show the extent of its reach. "How do you know what people wear in heaven if you've never been there?" I asked. Without missing a beat, Bana Sinkala replied, "I saw pictures in Sunday school when I was a child." Although there was laughter in her eyes as she answered my question, it was clear from this conversation that Bana Sinkala's upbringing in rural Northwestern Province, where she attended a church run by Plymouth Brethren missionaries, had shaped her adult Pentecostal understanding of heaven. When those images where slotted into a prosperity gospel framework, in which salvation guaranteed specific blessings like husbands and fashionable dresses, which

15. The feminine prefix "Bana" can be used as a Bemba equivalent to "Mrs.," as in Bana Sinkala's case, or, as in Bana Chimwemwe's case, to denote a teknonym.

16. See Matthew 22:30; Mark 12:25.

were not available in heaven, the distant promise of eternity lost much of its attraction.

In addition to the lack of appeal that heaven holds for many Pentecostals, I should add briefly that for some believers, the promise of eternity is regarded as uncertain. There were a wide variety of theological interpretations among the Pentecostals who I got to know on the Copperbelt, but at least some felt that heaven was not guaranteed just because someone was a Christian and that it was therefore necessary to confess one's sins immediately after having committed them, as even a lifelong Christian could find herself kept out of heaven if she died without first asking for forgiveness for "outstanding" sins. This need to keep careful track of one's transgressions renders the promise of heaven even more distant for the believers who subscribe to this view, pushing it out so far that it might escape their grasp altogether. Taken together, Copperbelt Pentecostal views on prosperity, their lack of millennial fervor, and the limited hope of heaven produce a Christian future that is radically foreshortened, so much so that it is almost indistinguishable from the present (cf. Marshall 2009:66). In short, for Pentecostals on the Copperbelt, the future is now.

To sum up the argument that I have made so far, in Pentecostal practice, "a redeemed historical past . . . moves us toward a future that is already 'known' . . . [in] 'scripture' that also acts as a kind of 'script' for Christian action in the present" (Coleman 2011:441). In other words, the Pentecostal relationship to the Bible transforms the past into an expansive present, while also short-circuiting the future—perhaps not bringing it into the present, but at the very least bringing it close enough to touch in the expectation of blessings that are just about to arrive.[17] Pentecostal time is therefore not "punctuated," not broken up into epochs or dispensations. Rather, it is relived cyclically in the ongoing repetition of the biblical narrative as it is read by believers—not as a long story of humanity that culminates with the end of time but rather as the specific stories of individual people whose lives are blessed as a result of their commitment to God.

Time as Submission, Time as Critique

What are we to make of the expansive present—and more specifically, what does it have to tell us about the contemporary experience of time more generally? In responding to these questions, it is helpful to begin with one final comparison between dispensationalist time and Pentecostal temporality as I have described it here. As we have seen, dispensationalists, like my Pentecostal informants, insert themselves into the narrative of the Bible and more specifically into biblical accounts of the eschaton, the "actual unfolding of 'end times' events" (Webster 2013:190). Writing about Brethren Christians on the northeast coast of Scotland, Joseph Webster argues that this way of reading scripture allows dispensationalists to take an active role in bringing about the end of the world. Seen from this angle, Webster's informants are not so different from believers on the Copperbelt, who also collapse the space between the biblical past and the present in order to affect a future that is so near as to be almost indistinguishable from today.

While the similarities between these two models of Christian time are clear, there is, however, one important difference between the Pentecostal expansive present and the enchanted world of dispensationalists like those who Webster studied. Although dispensationalist theology condenses time, it does not eliminate the distinction between the present and the expected apocalyptic future (Webster 2013:196). No matter how close this future comes, dispensationalists' expectant waiting and watching (see Webster 2013:180) for the end of time pushes the eschaton out in front of them, the way that the movements of a swimmer keep a ball floating on the surface of the water just out of her reach. As long as they are (still) waiting, the future has not (yet) arrived. While it is possible to describe the Pentecostal expectation of blessings like husbands and nice clothes in similar terms, the way that people like Bana Sinkala experience such waiting is not the same as the way that waiting is experienced by dispensationalists. While Scottish Brethren clearly long for Jesus's return, they ultimately accept that the time line they live in is the time line that God wants. Dispensationalists therefore submit to God's timing as they wait and watch for the apocalypse. In contrast, my Pentecostal informants do not easily accept waiting and find it very difficult to square with their understanding of how God works in the world (see Haynes 2019). It is in this distinction between the near but not yet arrived future as an accepted, if burdensome, reality and the near but not yet arrived future as an unacceptable, even untenable, element of Christian practice that sets Copperbelt believers apart from other Christians who engage the biblical text in a similar, typological way. While at first glance this distinction might seem like a small one, it is central to how the expansive present relates to other, non-Christian, models of time.

To explore the relationship between the expansive present and other temporal frameworks, I draw on Jane Guyer's (2007) influential discussion of Christian and capitalist time. Her analysis turns on the parallel temporalities of evangelical Christianity and monetarism and more specifically their shared "very short and very long sightedness" (Guyer 2007:410). In both monetarist and evangelical time, Guyer argues, the immediate

17. Jacob Hickman and Joseph Webster make a similar observation about millenarianism, which they argue is always marked by a "temporal coalescence," that is, "a collapsing of near and distant past *and* near and distant future upon the 'now' of present moral striving" (Hickman and Webster, forthcoming). While this observation shares some important characteristics with the expansive present of Copperbelt Pentecostalism, there is one important difference. While millenarian movements make an important impact on the present, they are always oriented toward a future that is, by definition, just out of reach. In contrast, the expansive present rejects such futurity, even when it is not successfully realized (see below).

future sits on one hand, and the distant future, whether in the form of the eschaton or the ultimate triumph of the market, sits on the other. Meanwhile, the middle or "near-future" drops out of the equation, no longer a site of potential agency or action. Guyer argues that the reason that the near-future is "evacuated" in both monetarist and evangelical time is because each of these frameworks encourages abandonment to a mysterious higher power, either God or the market, rejecting skepticism or reason "in favor of faith" (Guyer 2007:415). In dispensationalist Christian time, the near-future becomes "a kind of hiatus, whose intelligibility is explicitly in abeyance," a time to be "endured by waiting, by identifying, by witnessing" (Guyer 2007:414–415). While Webster makes it clear that this waiting does not preclude agency—in his analysis Scottish Brethren are bringing about the end times—we have seen that it is always informed by deference to divine timing, the sort of "faith" that Guyer describes. This Christian model of faith, or, to use another of Guyer's terms, "submission," also shows up in monetarist and, Guyer (2007:414) notes, neoliberal ideology. Here the point is to submit oneself to market-based promises of prosperity in the long term by choosing as best one can in the short term and allowing the market to weed out unprofitable choices in the interim. What we take from Guyer is therefore a picture of both Christian and capitalist time in which the near-future becomes a period of indefinite submission. In the Weberian framework that Guyer uses, these two temporal models "refer to and refine each other" (Guyer 2007:411); indeed, one might even argue that Christian submission and capitalist submission are of a piece (Povinelli 2011:168; see also Comaroff and Comaroff 2000).[18] Even if we do not take the connection as far as that, we can nevertheless see that submitting to the market is like submitting to God, and vice versa. In both cases, one lays down one's medium-term, near-future desires in an act of faith that such sacrifices will ultimately lead to salvation.

It is not difficult to see that in the expansive present Pentecostals on the Copperbelt are rejecting this logic of submission. Unlike their dispensationalist counterparts, believers refuse to "[endure] by waiting" (Guyer 2007:415). Instead, they largely dismiss the distant hopes of heaven or of Jesus's return, saying that they would prefer to be sent back to earth and receive their blessings here. They do not want their pie in the sky; they want their pie *now*! Rather than submit themselves to God, then, Nsofu Pentecostals ask that God himself submit to a strict program of causes and effects structured by a paradigmatic reading of scripture. In the light of these refusals, is it too much to suggest that believers are offering a critique of the long-term thinking that structures not only certain forms of Christianity but capitalism as well? While I would not go as far as to say that the expansive present has developed in direct response to capitalist time, it is worth pointing out that the recent economic history of the Copperbelt has been fundamentally shaped by structural adjustment and its attendant austerity measures, which hinge on just the sort of submission and faith that Guyer describes. But even if we cannot directly connect the expansive present to capitalism, we can nevertheless recognize in the timescape of Copperbelt Pentecostalism a critique of one of capitalist time's core features. Through religious practices that bring biblical narratives into the present, cast contemporary believers as their protagonists, and promise them immediate blessings, Pentecostals are creating and inhabiting a temporal world that is not is not structured by submission, or by waiting for salvation. The timescape of Copperbelt Pentecostalism therefore stands out from—and, I would argue, works against—hegemonic models of political economic time that require waiting.[19] As such, the expansive present represents an important example of how people work with and in time to negotiate the particular challenges of life under late capitalism.

Anthropological studies of late capitalist time have consistently highlighted its multiplicity—that is, its multilayered, multidirectional, "heterochronic" qualities (Bear 2014; also see Jeffrey 2010; Lazar 2014; Miyazaki 2005; Obarrio 2017; Piot 2010). While this multiplicity can be difficult to navigate, it also opens important avenues for creativity and resistance. To illustrate this point, Laura Bear draws on discussions of debt (e.g., Han 2004, 2012; James 2015) that emphasize the role of time (in this case, the particular time of credit) as a tool that people use to facilitate social relationships, economic mobility, and personal projects—in short, to "make a life" (Nielsen 2011). In the light of these examples, Bear (2014:19) argues that "within capitalism time is a key site for attempts to develop legitimacy and agency," for working on and in the world and, more specifically, for staking ethical claims. She also argues that anthropology has only begun to explore what this looks like and calls for greater attention in the discipline to "labour in/of time" (Bear 2014:6). Here, my analysis of the expansive present represents a case in point, showing how the Copperbelt Pentecostal approach to time operates as an ethical

18. Elizabeth Povinelli makes a similar point in her discussion of how Christian models of sacrifice have shaped the current political economy; one chooses piety or austerity in the short term to receive good results in the long term, whether a heavenly reward or economic development (Povinelli 2011:168).

19. Although there are aspects of the prosperity gospel that echo the consumerist impulse of late capitalism—lavish wealth, extravagant displays, immediate gratification—these do not take away from the critical edge of the expansive present. While it is true that there is an immediacy to consumer capitalism that parallels the immediacy of the prosperity gospel, the underlying moralized economic logic that structures consumerism is nevertheless one of submission (see Povinelli 2011:160–162). From stimulus packages that put money back in the pockets of individuals with the expectation that they will buy more stuff to suggestions on the part of political leaders that spending more money at Christmastime despite a recession amounts to being a good citizen, the moral force of consumerism follows from a commitment to the long-term work of the market, fueled by short-term consumer behavior. In other words, individuals are called to submit to the market by acting in faith that spending money (money that they might otherwise be inclined to save) will result in market-based salvation.

claim. This claim works over and against temporal discourses structured by submission—indeed, it rejects the moral claim of such discourses. In developing my analysis of the expansive present, then, my aim has not only been to move the anthropological discussion of Christian time beyond the dominant framework of rupture and continuity but also to explore how people work on, with, and through time to navigate—and challenge—hegemonic temporal frameworks. In so doing, I hope I have also pointed to the ongoing potential of the anthropology of Christianity in the discipline more generally.

Conclusion: Beyond Rupture in the Anthropology of Christianity

It is not unusual for Christians to imagine that they lived in biblical times any more than it is for them to think that they are living in the last days. Nor is it unusual to come across biblical models for social and political transformation, whether in the revolutionary life of Paul or the radical change promised in the eschaton. What is unique about the Copperbelt Pentecostal case, as I have shown, is that believers operate in a temporal landscape that fundamentally rejects the idea of temporal submission—of waiting—in favor of an expansive present. Time for believers in Nsofu is therefore not punctuated by the ruptures that anthropologists have typically associated with Christian practice. In concluding my argument, I would like to return briefly to the topic of rupture and the anthropology of Christianity with which my discussion began, in order to highlight some analytical implications of this new model of Christian time.

First, the notion of the expansive present brings to the fore something that has been implicit in several studies of African Pentecostalism (especially Daswani 2015) but has not, to my knowledge, been articulated explicitly. To wit, the rupture with the past that Pentecostal conversion famously entails happens primarily through the incorporation of that past into the expansive present of the reincarnated biblical narrative. The past is therefore not so much broken with as it is retemporalized and reinterpreted according to the heroic, mythical structure that animates Pentecostal practice. It should be clear that in connecting rupture, at least in the African Pentecostal case, to the expansion of the present, I am not arguing against a model of conversion that emphasizes cultural change nor, by extension, am I suggesting that the disciplinary intervention grounded in the study of radical rupture has failed. I do, however, want to get beyond rupture's dominance as an analytical model in the anthropology of Christianity, and toward this end the expansive present provides us with a new way of thinking through Christian time, and with it an important example of how we might ethnographically engage with contemporary issues of labor in time.

Just as studies of punctuated Christian time have given anthropologists language for thinking through radical cultural change, the expansive Pentecostal present provides us with a way to explore how people negotiate the "dynamic simultaneity" of late capitalist time (Bear 2014:6; cf. Munn 1992). The goal of generating a new model of Christian time in my analysis of the expansive present is therefore to continue the good work that has already been done by the anthropology of Christianity and, more specifically, to use Christian models of time as a way of theorizing ethnographic problems that extend beyond Christian communities. As I have shown, one form that this takes is a critique of the logic of submission that informs not only other types of Christian time but also capitalist time. The Pentecostal expansive present therefore represents work with time that speaks to time's critical political role in a late capitalist context.

As we seek to get beyond rupture in the anthropology of Christianity, my hope is that we can continue in the spirit in which this earlier work has been offered, namely, as a way of speaking to concerns that resonate with anthropologists who may have no interest in studying Christianity, or even religion, but who might nevertheless find in the issues raised by ethnographic engagement with Christian populations productive frameworks and examples through which to examine their own ethnographic material. In the expansive present, we have the beginnings of a theoretical model that resonates with current anthropological concerns and brings new insights to these discussions.

Comments

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Back when the anthropology of Christianity (per se or otherwise) was young and green, Fenella Cannell (2006) asked "[W]hat difference does Christianity make?" (1). This question has become foundational to the comparative ethnographic project that the subdiscipline of anthropology of Christianity has become. But this essay by Naomi Haynes, arguing for multiple structures of Christian time, suggests that Cannell's question might be worthy of being tweaked just a hair and being represented rather as "What differences can Christianity make?"

Or maybe she is asking us to do something more with that quote. Haynes presents us with a new model of Christian time, differentiating a Pentecostal "expansive Christian present" from both the etic/theoretical time of "rupture" and the emic/hermeneutic time of dispensationalism. Given the field-derived evidence that she presents, the existence of this temporality in contemporary Zambia (and presumably in many other prosperity-gospel-Pentecostalism-infused regions in the world) is unquestionable. But what is left unsaid is how much time is allotted to this Christian temporality, which is to say when did it begin and when it might end?

This secondary question is important because a moment of reflection shows that this temporality bares some sort of genealogical relation to these other models of time that preceded and gave birth to the expansive present. After all, the African Pentecostalism that Haynes charts was originally instituted on that continent by believers carrying out the Pentecostal imperative to "make a complete break with the past" (Meyer 1998). But that is not the only genealogical tie that can be identified here; there are personal genealogies too. Bana Chimwemwe's knowledge of heaven's dowdy gowns was based on her childhood education by a Plymouth Brethren missionary, the very sect that Joseph Webster (2013) studied when he charted the logic of dispensationalist temporality.

Of course, Bana Chimwemwe might have simply converted from one sense of Christian time to another when she converted to Pentecostalism. But then, Pentecostalism itself has also converted from one temporality to another. The first moments of Pentecostalism were suffused with the exact sort of apocalyptic expectations that the Zambian expansive present hypotrophies, and many of the earliest Pentecostal denominations, including the massive and world-spanning Assemblies of God, are still mainly dispensationalist by nature. And outside of this immediate genealogy, there are other models of Christian time; for instance, there is the utopian millennialism of much of nineteenth-century American Protestantism, which anticipated a thousand years of hard-earned-but-still-grace-infused-this-worldly perfection, all without having to first endure the horrors of the apocalypse. We have the time of Fijian Methodism as captured by Matthew Tomlinson (2014), caught in a sort of impossible repetition-compulsion. There is the Ladd-inspired already/not-yet found in many parts of American Charismatic Christianity, as well as the virtual time of the Charismatic miracle itself (Bialecki 2017*a*:22–47, 73–76). And then there is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which has a truly cosmological cyclic imagination where Gods create Gods for all eternity (Bialecki 2017*b*, 2019).

The point here is not to place Hayne's claims into doubt by showing seemingly quite different or even unassimilable temporal antecedents or to parochialize or dilute the model of an expansive Pentecostal by reciting a litany of other temporal models or imaginaries. Rather, it is to note that there seems to be at once something recognizably the same in all these temporal forms, even if they are quite different. But how do we explain this? Part of it could be that there are different modes of Christian time and that depending on circumstance and inclination, different Christianities could switch from one temporality to another (see Bialecki 2010). In the Zambian case, for instance, we can imagine that under sufficient pressure, its disinclination to think the eschatological and apocalyptic could be pushed to the side, although given the way that Zambia has already weathered plenty of economic and political existential threats, one wonders how great those pressures would have to be. But even granting shifting modalities, we do not have any mechanism that would allow for this commonality and difference across so many historically and geographically dispersed cases. All these Christian expressions seem too heterogeneous and locally inflected to allow for any kind of ahistorical Christian essence. And Protestant and post-protestant Christianity (and most likely other forms of Christianity as well) are too busy continually bifurcating (Bialecki 2014) to allow for the existence of any kind of continuing discursive "tradition" like that hypothesized for Islam by Talal Asad (2009).

But if we picture Christianity (and not just Christianity alone but other multiregional religion and religion-like expressions as well) as being comprised not by an essence or tradition but rather by a set of virtual problems, then things become clearer. It is no accident that the history of the anthropology of Christianity consists of anthropologists "discovering" Christian problems: the problem of presence (Engelke 2007); problems of selfhood (Bialecki and Daswani 2015; Mosko 2010; Robbins 2002); problems of collectivities against individualities (Handman 2014); problems of ethical speech and conduct (Daswani 2015; Keane 2007); problems of exchange, circulation, and materiality (Bialecki 2009; Coleman 2004; Keane 2007). Many of these problems are not unique to Christianity, although the particular overarching set of "Christian" problems most likely is. And many of these problems slip into and out of dormancy and do not always bear the same levels of relevance in all their instantiations. But thinking of Christianity not as a set of explicit norms but as a constellation of virtual problems (Bialecki 2012) still allows for the kind of multiplicity we see.

And Christian temporality is one of those problems; perhaps it is most anthropologically important. As Haynes proves here, discussions of Christian temporality are not a thumbs-up or thumbs-down vote on "rupture," where every exception is paraded as disproof. Rather, Christian time is supple and multivarious, capable of echoing capitalism at some times and critiquing it in others. And while differentiation and virtuality are in no ways the exclusive property of Christianity alone, in this excellent article Haynes suggests that perhaps the question we should be asking is "How *is* Christianity time difference in itself?"

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It is tempting to say that Naomi's argument—about a present that expands by appropriating dimensions of the past and future—itself constitutes an analytical rupture against the trope of "rupture," but really her aims are more nuanced, as she explores ways that Pentecostals link temporality with certain forms of agency. In doing so, Naomi makes very suggestive contributions to the increasingly differentiating (i.e., maturing) literature on the anthropology of Christianity. I very much like her counterintuitive conclusion: that under some circumstances, prosperity Christianity might embody not a simple replication

of capitalist ideology (as is usually maintained) but rather a critique of it, even if believers do not speak in so many words.

From the perspective of a researcher who has investigated prosperity Christians in two other parts of the world, in Sweden and Nigeria, I find that many of Naomi's observations correspond with my ethnographic experience. I agree that prosperity ideas often present a model of temporality that does not chime well with premillennial dispensationalism. In fact, I would add that such distinctions have further semiotic affinities with models of materiality, sincerity, and personhood that display differences from evangelical and fundamentalist assumptions in their ethical understandings of how the believers relate to the physical and social world. So the prosperity version of the expansive present displayed in the Copperbelt is not exactly unique but has similarities with ways that Word of Life believers in Sweden attempt to recreate past, present, and future on their own agentive terms through what I have elsewhere called "historiopraxy" (Coleman 2011). In this sense it is striking that when Ulf Ekman, the founder of the Word of Life, converted to Roman Catholicism a few years ago, he defended his move by creating something that in Naomi's terms looks very much like an "expansive past" (linking faith with historical precedents that have the power to cannibalize the present) as a means of differentiating himself from what he represented as opportunistic, superficial, prosperity views of time (Coleman 2018). Or again, among the Nigerian members of the Redeemed Christian of God whom I currently study, there is much talk of planning associated with visions for producing material infrastructures that display both technological and spiritual capital and that literally construct a near-future full of agency and realized aspiration that resonates with what Naomi is describing.

But I also want to push Naomi's analysis in some other directions. One relates to making more of the sheer discursive and social labor involved in fashioning the expansive present (with such Pentecostal toil perhaps providing a variation on Bear's [2014:6] labor in/of time). Naomi talks generally of how Pentecostals on the Copperbelt engage with scripture through typological readings of the text and also of how engaging with the performative force of biblical narrative is informed by a ritual life that emphasizes the immediate experience of the Holy Spirit. However, I would like to know more about how effortful, performative claims about the expanded present may emerge from coconstructed speech contexts, such as the intriguing conversation that Naomi has with Bana Sinkala and two other Pentecostal friends in a living room. This exchange occurs away from formal ritual contexts, yet it seems to entail believers talking in linguistically loaded ways of their mutual aspirations, making claims to themselves and to others about their commitment to realizable aspirations. Thus, when Bana Chimwemwe's account of her near-death experiences trails off, the other women "began to weigh in" over the blessings of believing, collaborating to produce a prosperity testimony that expresses the blessings of expansive presentism. If there is a performative quality to such a shared testimony (blending past, present, and future), then it also has a subjunctive quality, combining what is described with what is desired, working hard to make a public claim both on the present and on the aspirational, expectant self.

The version of salvation conjured up by the conversation between Naomi and her friends involves rather specific blessings, such as those involving fashion and furniture, but—judging from my own fieldwork—I imagine that there are also occasions when what is desired is not quite so clear in outline, such as "a better job" or "good partner." Prosperity believers have sometimes told me that God has indeed rewarded them but not necessarily in the exact way or form that they have expected or claimed. On such occasions, a degree of human agency is combined with an acceptance of—even submission to—the ultimate sovereignty of divine will. I wonder if such occasions are present on the Copperbelt. If so, they are likely to involve intense forms of interpretive labor that realign aspiration with the blessings discernible in the expanded present.

I have space for one more point, expressed far too briefly. Naomi draws on Valerio Valeri's distinction between historical events that work through articulating chain-like syntagmatic relations, as opposed to paradigmatic relations evident in Pentecostal typologizing, where iconic, historical persons and contemporary persons live lives in parallel. Let me crudely divide this distinction into "story" versus "person." In my experience, "story" moves more readily toward a known end, constraining the ways that outcomes are made to correspond with biblical precedent. "Person," on the other hand, allows the believer to inhabit the disposition and agency of a biblical figure but with more scope to create new events and narratives. Thus, one might act not like Moses does in a specific biblical account, but rather in a "Moses-like" way to address the challenges of the present. In doing so, bringing the past into the present becomes an act of creative, rather than constrained, "merely repetitive," repetition. It may be that I am describing prosperity contexts where expectations for the scope of agency are greater than those evident in the Copperbelt, or I may be suggesting a further dimension of the expanded present that Naomi so vividly and clearly describes.

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Naomi Haynes's call for a shift of attention from the centrality of rupture to other ways of situating and expressing Christian temporalities is a welcome respite. Even as we identify rupture as a shared rhetoric that is prioritized by Protestant Christians around the world, anthropologists have acknowledged the danger that comes with focusing too much on the public articulations and sermons of religious subjects and inadvertently taking attention away from coexisting histories and traditions

of Christian and non-Christian time. The "expansive present" provides an alternative moral economy of Christian desire and expectation, a renewed focus on the near-future that has been evacuated from macroeconomic and evangelical Christian notions of futurity (Guyer 2007). Haynes asks us to pay closer ethnographic attention to how Christians claim to have little patience in waiting and expect things from God *now*. What do Christians do when they do not desire heaven and have lost patience with waiting? How does the affective and ethical labor *in*/*of* time (Bear 2014) participate in actively constituting the near-future? These are important and praiseworthy questions that Haynes's article allows us to consider. Yet one is left wondering: Do they require a new model of Christian time?

Rupture is a discursive claim (Engelke 2010; Meyer 1998) made by Pentecostal Christians and one that echoes the modernist promises and development projects around the world. For some, rupture works alongside continuity (whether crooked or latent) with traditional aspects of religious power and community (Harris 2006; Lauterbach 2017; Peel 2016), and it occludes the not-so-hidden continuity within other established Christian paradigms (Chua 2012*b*; Norget, Napolitano, and Mayblin 2017). It is therefore not surprising that historically informed anthropologists of Christianity have raised doubts about the centrality of rupture as a model for Pentecostal Christian transformation (Maxwell 2007; Peel 2007). Instead, rupture has served as an elastic and productive "problem-space" (Scott 2004) through which one can generate a shared assumption of radical change that is actualized and debated differently across various contexts (Daswani 2015). Yet rupture cannot account for Christian temporality in its entirety and has concealed the multiplicity of temporality that exists. Haynes is right: rupture has run out of new things to tell us. It does not determine or shape all Christian experience and expectation of time. This does not mean, however, that the way forward lies in yet another "model."

For Haynes, "expansive time" is a new model of Christian time that challenges rupture's dominance and the suggestion that one is living in relation to a break with the past or in anticipation of the future. However, this also ignores that Christians are already described as moving between a range of temporalities (Bialecki 2017*a*; Coleman 2011; Daswani 2015), parallel but distinct ontologies (Premawadhana 2018), and foregrounds and backgrounds (Bandak and Jørgensen 2012). In seeking another model of time, we ignore the interactions between and the simultaneous presence of other temporalities and religious traditions, as well as situations in which Christian rhetoric matters more or less. My discomfort emerges from the development of models that are based on ethnographically specific claims and that potentially neglect other ways of living in and with time in order to make an intervention in anthropology (Peel 2016:108). There is much I found familiar when reading Haynes's article. Not unlike her, I have described ordinary Pentecostal practitioners as less concerned with heaven than with what God could do for them *now*—especially in the context of spiritual prayers that influence one's personal or economic uncertainty in the near-future. Rather than prioritizing one model of time over another, however, the Ghanaian Pentecostals with whom I worked moved between more than one time map, placing selective emphasis at distinct moments and periods in their lives. In other words, they might, at different points in their life, "sacrifice the present in hopes of attaining some miraculously redeemed future" *and* at other times "work to bring both the past and the future into a present pervaded by miraculous energy." The important question for me has been: What happens after and between declarations of rupture or claims of continuity as converts struggle to maintain the principles of religious commitment while living within different socioeconomic circumstances, coexisting ontologies, and ongoing contradictions (Daswani 2015)? I equally understand the claim that Haynes makes: that Pentecostals *become* their protagonists by placing themselves into biblical narratives. By participating in such forms of identification, Ghanaian Pentecostals similarly bridge the "temporal and spatial remove between events . . . suggesting a relationship of temporal equivalence" (Daswani 2019; Eisenlohr 2004:95). What I do not understand is how this move does not *also* involve the understanding that while Pentecostals (like my example of Albert) compare themselves to biblical characters, they are also aware that they are distinct from them and hold other sociotemporal identities.

Haynes describes how her Zambian Pentecostal informants are not satisfied with waiting for salvation and future blessings. Bana Sinkala demands reciprocity from God now. Haynes argues that within Christianity and late capitalism, subjects defer authority to God or the market economy and an idea of futurity that valorizes endurance and patience. In contrast, she sees the "expansive present" as a "miraculous energy" that serves as a critique of this "logic of submission." Having read this article, I asked myself, What does "expansive time" bring to the conversation? Is "expansive time" similar to Pentecostal theologian Wariboko's (2011:39) understanding of the "prophetic-pentecostal spirit" as a creative presence that cannot be captured by state power and therefore disrupts existing social models? In a more nuanced understanding of waiting, a "poetics of waiting" also does the work of actively inviting the near-future into the present (Bandak and Janeja 2018). Haynes's description reminded me of the tragic form of the postcolonial, whereby "the present seems stricken with immobility and pain and ruin" and "the future has *ceased* to be a source of longing and anticipation" (Scott 2014:6–13). While experiencing feelings of "stuckedness" (Hage 2009), Zambian Pentecostals are also connected to the productive potentialities of "play" (Bialecki 2017*a*) that allow them to expand (and contract) time in the present. However, are we viewing time as "expansive" because of, or as another word for, the Holy Spirit? And could we include the affective and performative presence of magic and spiritual power? I suggest that rather than a new model of Christian time, we should seriously consider Haynes's proposed shift away from rupture by building on an ever-expanding literature that engages with the ways that Christians work in and move between distinct models of time. The need for another

model seems less relevant if we consider the *longue durée* and the moments when people's narratives move with their changing experiences and structural predicaments over time.

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"The Expansive Present"—A New or Traditional Model of Time? An African Critique

In her article, "The Expansive Present: A New Model of Christian Time," Naomi Haynes, a social anthropologist at the University of Edinburgh, analyzes how Zambian Pentecostals'[20] perception of time influences their understanding of life, values, and daily experiences. The main aim is to transcend Christian anthropology's language of rupture and continuity, especially in relation to dispensationalism. Drawing on her fieldwork among Pentecostals, Haynes observes that they seek to "relive the biblical past in the present through a typological reading of the text." She argues that through prosperity theology, Pentecostals perceive the future as a reality drawing closer to the present. She believes that their actions demonstrate a resistance to the idea of surrendering the present to some abstract blissful distant future. In a way, these Pentecostals use religion as an instrument for negotiating and negating existential challenges under late capitalism. Haynes believes that this way of conceiving time "represents a critique of the logic of submission according to which capitalist, as well as many forms of Christian, time are structured." Haynes offers a critical and profound observation that the Pentecostal perception of time not only resists the logic of seeing and submitting to time as leviathan, the dictator of life, but also rejects demarcating time in a linear form (i.e. past, present, future).

The foregoing raises some critical questions: What informs the Zambian Pentecostal perception of time? Is the "expansive present" a new model or an African traditional model of time? Since John Mbiti's publication on African concepts of time in 1969, scholars have contentiously discussed African notions of time.[21] Mbiti argued that African time is event oriented in that the present events present the time acted upon. He perceived the future and the past as constantly conveying within the present. Various events are placed in time along and across what I call "the river of time," based on their significance. Like water in the river, all known events are fully present in the present even though they have happened in a distant past or are yet to happen. The most significant events are always closer and are perceived as already taking place in the present. The inconsequential events occupy marginal timespace, even though they have just happened. Time is not perceived as either linear or cyclical only but is rather based on these significant events that are perceived to "exist and subsist" in human present interactions within the world. In other words, human beings, or creation, to be more precise, are in the river of time and the river of time is in them. This means that if time is, they are; if they are, time is. There is no disconnection; there is no ending.

Mbiti (1969)[22] likens African time to a person standing in a waterway facing downstream. The water current is the flow of time. The present time is that which is directly around the wader (the time being experienced through events taking place); the past is the time that has already passed but which forms concrete present experiences. The future remains defined by its critical events, so the "upstream" time is important to the extent that its events empower the person in the water to change the tide in the present. It is not the focus because it will pass when, and as, it meets the person already in the water and then will become fully concretized. Thus, rather than the person moving into the future by going upstream, the person lets the future come to them as she/he is actively transforming the present.

It is clear that Pentecostalism shares notions of time with an African traditional worldview. Harvey Cox (1994) argues that any adequate entrance into religious consciousness of Pentecostalism must bear in mind that Pentecostalism always adopts and transforms at least certain elements of preexisting cultural elements of the context that retain a strong grip on their religious subconscious. If we were to employ Cox's argument as analytical tool to interrogate Haynes's argument, besides methodological weakness with a nearly suppressed empirical voice, perhaps one other major weakness lies in explicit utilization of the Western category without engaging either African concepts of time or of scholarship. This raises a question of appropriateness of the analytical technique used to analyze the Pentecostal notion of time. It appears that Haynes is reading too much into the data. How can such scholarship fully and adequately grasp and analyze an African informed concept of time?

In fact, Haynes does not even mention that the concept of the "expansive present" was introduced by Helga Nowotny (1994), a social scientist who argued that postmodernism has engendered a notion of time in which the future seems to be subsumed into the present, thereby creating an expansive or extended present. This idea is also discussed in current scholarship on Pentecostal eschatology. Scholars argue that some Pentecostals believe that "through the coming of Jesus, the future has exerted itself on the present course of history" (Bertone 2010:71). In other words, the incarnation of Jesus as an eschatological rupture to renew and transform the present has secured benefits of the future for present well-being.

Haynes fails to see that Pentecostals seek to restructure their lives in the present by inculturating their religious experiences

20. Pentecostalism and Pentecostal(s) in this article refer to "Zambian" unless specified otherwise.

21. It is not the duty of this article to engage such discussions.

22. I have paraphrased the adage.

within African traditional notions of time. They appeal to the past not so much as to "relive the biblical past in the present" as Haynes argues, but rather as a tool to radically unify biblical events (past), present events (their current experiences), and eschatological events (future) and place themselves concretely on a trajectory of divine action regarded as the unifying factor. The eschatological events are crucial because they are the landscape of God's promises, and the biblical past is just as crucial as the landscape of God's expression of his divine attributes as a God of miracles and a faithful God. Inculturatively, therefore, Pentecostals believe that through the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Jesus, the eschatological event has already taken place, even as they still wait for its full actualization.

One can conclude that the idea of an "expansive present" is neither new nor foreign in traditional African societies. It has been in place as a frame of structuring social life in which the appropriated past and the reclaimed future radically convey in the present for human (creation) well-being. The implication is that Pentecostals have adopted traditional concepts of time that they have used as tool to stimulate a spiritual experience, which appropriate experiences of biblical characters and eschatological events as events happening in the here and now through engagement with existential realities.

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The past comes forward. The future draws near. In the "expansive present" articulated by Zambian Pentecostals, people embed their lives in biblical scripts and expect blessings in the immediate future, folding past and future into now. If we can appreciate this African Christian model of time, Naomi Haynes argues, we can go beyond questions of rupture and continuity in the anthropology of Christianity. The model of the expansive present resonates with the Pentecostal discourse Haynes heard in the neighborhood of Nsofu, Kitwe, and offers anthropologists a new way to see Christian models of time as counterintuitively anti-capitalist.

The first part of Haynes's argument resonates well with the work of Susan Harding, Vincent Crapanzano, Tanya Luhrmann, and like-minded scholars: for believers, biblical narratives are not dead matters of the past but rather living scripts for people's present existence. As Haynes puts it, Zambian Pentecostals "are inserting themselves into the text . . . [within] an expansive present where the stories of the Bible are lived over and over again." Her examples make the point well, with a presidential counselor portraying himself as fulfilling the role of Ezekiel and New Year's banners identifying biblical passages for the upcoming year, in which the blessings of Jabez and Moses are now ours.

A key topic of Harding's (2000) foundational work is how prefigured characters exist in relation to audiences. As she pointed out, the church leader Jerry Falwell presented himself as many biblical figures—Jacob, Joshua, David, Jesus, Paul—and his followers worked diligently to reconcile his sometimes-scandalous actions with these sacred models. Jerry Falwell was Joshua *for* someone—specifically, for members of his flock willing to give money so that financial walls would come tumbling down when Falwell sought to build his college. So when Zambian Pentecostals "place themselves in the text," who reads the text? And what kinds of responses do they offer? When the young man Calvin inserts himself as Jacob into the story of Isaac's blessing, what role does Calvin's audience of Facebook friends play in shaping the character and its future possibilities? Do audiences have the right to refuse a character or insist on a new one—as happened, for example, when Fijian Christian nationalists in the 1980s and 1990s first referred to a coup leader as Moses, then changed their minds and identified him with Judas (Tomlinson 2010:754)? Ultimately, to what extent are lived-in characters validated by or assigned by others, and what effects might audience responses have on temporal sensibilities?

Haynes emphasizes the distinction between dispensationalists, who read current events as signs of the end times, and Pentecostals, who fold their hopes and expectations into the present. Zambian Pentecostals are not anticipating the end of the world, and they are not especially looking forward to being in heaven either. In the line that most vividly expresses their theologically grounded impatience, animating the second part of Haynes's argument, Pastor Kufuna exclaims to his congregation: "I don't want my 'pie in the sky,' I want my pie *now!*" These Pentecostals, Haynes explains, refuse to wait. And yet the idea of refusing to wait is problematic, because refusal suggests that one is indeed waiting. Pastor Kufuna wants his pie, which means no matter how close it is, it is not really here yet. As Haynes acknowledges, the future is "perhaps not [brought] into the present, but at the very least [brought] close enough to touch in the expectation of blessings that are just about to arrive." These blessings are asymptotic. They are right there—but not quite here yet.

The topic of "expectation" raises questions of hope and failure. Hope, as Hirokazu Miyazaki (2004) and others have suggested, both motivates and results from forward-looking projects of self-definition—projects that seem bound to succeed in their participants' terms, whatever their objective results. Miyazaki offers the example of a Fijian village petitioning the government for the return of its ancestral lands. They are unlikely to get their lands back, as the capital city now sits on them, but the villagers confirm their hopeful self-knowledge to themselves in their petitioning. For Pastor Kufuna, presumably, present-day trials and tribulations will not dampen his expectation that the pie is close enough to touch. He wants it now, and his desire radiates an insistence that he will get it.

Yet even if some ritual actors ensure that their projects can never meaningfully fail, one can pose questions about the

emotional tenor of those projects. In developing her argument, Haynes draws on Joseph Webster's monograph (2013) as a counterexample to her case. The Scottish fishers with whom Webster works are so focused on the end times that they work to create the signs that will hasten them. For example, they support a program for planting trees in the Holy Land, designed to fulfill the prophecy in Isaiah that Israel will "blossom" in the end times. But the eschaton's nearness worries them, too, because younger family members are uninterested in church, which means that they will not be saved, and Webster reports that the elders bore a "weight of sorrow . . . heartbreaking to witness" (2013:70). Haynes makes it clear that the Pentecostalists of Nsofu are not dispensationalists like the Scottish fishers. Zambian understandings of the expansive present diminish eschatological expectations and strengthen an impatient desire for blessings now. But because those blessings are in a state of deferral—no matter how short the deferral is expected to be—what kinds of doubts, anxieties, and critiques emerge from the temporal logic of the expansive present?

This article succeeds in showing how some Christians think in distinctive ways about time—ways that can challenge and improve anthropological theory on subjectivity, temporality, and ideologies of change beyond the context of Christianity. I am persuaded by Haynes's argument. The most compelling questions it raises for me are, first, how do audiences shape speakers' possibilities of inhabiting biblical lives? And what effects on the expansive present might this dialogism have? Second, what anxieties bubble up from the promises of blessings that are so close, so certain, yet inevitably deferred?

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Prosperity Pentecostalism as Theological Presentism

In the words of Pastor Kufuna, "I don't want my 'pie in the sky,' I want my pie *now*!" What are we to make of these words, and particularly their hard-to-miss theological presentism, within the context of Naomi Haynes's argument that Copperbelt Pentecostals experience time as an expansive present? While I welcome this timely attempt to push the anthropology of Christianity beyond a rupture/continuity paradigm, I am left with a strong sense that the Pentecostal present being described is considerably less expansive than Haynes contends. Instead, what I find in Haynes's ethnography and analysis is a tightly focused theological presentism that co-opts the (biblical) past and abolishes the (eschatological) future in favor of a temporally circumscribed here and now.

For Copperbelt Pentecostals, "the Bible is less a predictor of the future, a template of what is to come, than a model of—and more importantly, a model for—the present." Yet surely an expansive Christian present would require both the presence of the present *and* the presence of the future in order to be so enlarged? Among the Brethren of Gamrie (Webster 2013) this was certainly the case, where present-day concerns about future eschatological events were simultaneously said to be prophetic fulfillments of the biblical past. In Gamrie, past, present, and future were temporally conjoined yet *also* remained distinct; the present was now, *as well as* being ancient and futuristic—a phenomena that along with Jacob Hickman I call "temporal coalescence" (Hickman and Webster, forthcoming).

Not so on the Copperbelt, where this distinct-yet-coalesced temporality was denied in favor of a short-circuiting of the future by the present, whereby "the future is now." Notably, this act of temporal abolition seems to go one step further even than Guyer's analysis of the "evacuation of the near-future" (2007:409), since, in Nsofu, the future is not merely evacuated but is actually disappeared by a theological presentism that, in effect, only has eyes for today. As such, "Pentecostals on the Copperbelt express very little hope or dread or expectation in the eschaton—indeed, they give it basically no attention at all." Here, the present is not expanded by ancient and futuristic signs but remains steadfastly—and, in temporal terms, *narrowly*—focused on the here and now of pies, cars, dresses, furniture, and husbands. Indeed, in a revealing section of the article describing local reactions to two crises (the killing of a Nsofu man and the global crash in copper prices), Haynes states how:

> Pentecostals in Nsofu did not connect these small or big crises to a coming apocalypse. Instead, they turned their attention to prayer and "spiritual warfare," commanding an immediate end to Satan's activities in this life . . . Nsofu Pentecostals therefore foreshorten the horizon of Christian expectation considerably, focusing the possibility of divine intervention on the here and now, rather than the end of time.

How, then, can "a Christian future that is radically foreshortened" provide the temporal content necessary to fill an expansive present? Can a temporal foreshortening really be a type of temporal expansion? For Pentecostals for whom "the distant promise of eternity [has] lost much of its attraction," it is difficult to see how this might be the case, relinquishing, as it does, the opportunity to populate an enlarged present with one of the most baroque and time-consuming (literally and figuratively) of theological concerns, namely, eschatology.

Tellingly, using the past to populate the expansive present appears equally awkward for Haynes's informants. Here, a futurist temporal retraction into the present curtails the past by pressing it into exclusive servitude to current happenings and concerns, "thereby making the past and present contemporary, occupying the same timespace." Here, again, we see an evacuation-giving-way-to-abolition, this time of ancient biblical history, with the present dissolving the past into its very presentism. Moreover, this timespace remains *un*expanded insofar as the past is experienced presently by precluding it from simultaneously being possessed by figures from the past; "2012 is *my* season of distinction and rest, not Moses's." Here,

the past does not expand the present but is co-opted by and therefore excluded from it. As such, the past, too, is like a pie—to be enjoyed *now*, or not at all.

In Haynes's engagement with my work among the Brethren of Gamrie, she states that "dispensationalist theology condenses time" but "does not eliminate the distinction between the present and the expected apocalyptic future," explaining this using the metaphor of the movements of a swimmer who keeps a floating ball just out of reach. This metaphor is problematic, since, for the Christians of Gamrie, eschatological waiting does not (simultaneously) preclude apocalyptic arrival. Dispensationalist time in Gamrie is not condensed nor does it maintain a strict distinction between the apocalyptic present and the apocalyptic future. Instead, Gamrie dispensationalism lays claim over *all time* by conjoining past, present, and future—not via a dissolution into presentism (which I have argued is far from expansive) but via a millenarian temporal coalescence that allows pies to be kept in the past, *and* eaten now, *and* saved for later. In Gamrie, "biblical times" and "the last days" are never "out of reach," for they run in parallel with the present.

A final comment on capitalist and Christian time. Even if a dogmatic interpretation of Weber's *Protestant Ethic* (whereby capitalist time *is* Protestant time) has its pitfalls, it nonetheless seems true that Copperbelt Pentecostalism deifies the consumerist logic of late capitalism—a point that Haynes partly concedes in footnote 19. Yet what if the logic of capitalism was not just submission but submission *to* something, namely, to immediate gratification? Here, "Nsofu Pentecostals ask that God himself submit," just as these Pentecostals submit to the will of capitalism—a will that demands that one cultivates the will to eat pie *now*. This being the case, perhaps Weber was right, namely, that as capitalism develops, hedonism becomes its own "ultimate value" or religion. The temporally unexpansive presentism of Copperbelt prosperity Pentecostalism certainly seems to indicate how this might be the case.

Reply

It is hard to imagine a more constructive set of responses. The questions, suggestions, and disagreements offered by the commentators on this article are the best possible illustration of the point that I most wanted to make: that a new model of Christian time would be useful to the discipline, even for those in anthropology who were not studying Christianity as such. Four major lines of discussion emerge from the comments. First, there is the issue of whether the expansive present is in fact a "new model," as I argue. Second is the question of what we do with the multiplicity of Christian time(s), for which the expansive present cannot completely account. Third is what we might call the "dark side" of the expansive present. And finally, there are the discursive processes involved in the production and contestation of the biblical analogies that make the expansive present possible. Each of these themes could warrant an article in itself, but here I can treat them only briefly, knowing that there will be more opportunities to engage them further in the future.

There is perhaps no better means of eliciting refutation than to suggest that a proposed concept is new. This is what happened to initial calls for an anthropology of Christianity (e.g., Robbins 2003), which were regularly answered with complaints that there was nothing new at all about this field of study (see Robbins 2014 for a thorough treatment of these discussions). In response to my argument about the expansive present, theologian Chammah J. Kaunda argues that what I describe is not a novel way of conceiving time, but rather a clear example of traditional African temporality tuned to a Pentecostal key. This sort of cultural reappropriation, Kaunda argues, is nothing more than what we have come to expect from Pentecostalism, which, as he puts it, "always adopts and transforms at least certain elements of [the] preexisting . . . context." In making this argument, Kaunda positions himself on one side of a long-standing debate about Pentecostalism's relationship to African cultures (e.g., Anderson 2006; Kalu 2008; Meyer 1999). While the elective affinity between this religion and traditional practices focused on healing and power, for example, is well documented, scholars disagree about whether Pentecostalism represents something new or instead simply the most recent in a long chain of religious innovations, all aimed at realizing a common set of spiritual goals. For my part, I have no doubt that Pentecostal practice on the Copperbelt, as in any other part of the world, incorporates elements of whatever preceded it, whether non-Christian cultural forms or indeed components of other types of Christianity (as Jon Bialecki points out in his comment). My modest claim alongside this established line of argument is that the particular local ways that people in a given Christian community approach time (or kinship, or gender, or politics, for that matter) can produce ethnographically informed models that are analytically useful well beyond the confines of the anthropology of Christianity. As such, I am not so much arguing that the expansive present is an entirely new *form* of (Christian) time—this would be impossible to prove—as I am putting it forward as a new *model* with which anthropologists can explore, for example, the complex timescales of late capitalism.

It is the efficacy of such models that Girish Daswani questions in his comments. Daswani's critique of my argument has two parts. First, he wonders whether the expansive present does justice to the multiple and varied ways that all people, Copperbelt Pentecostals included, experience and work with time. Second, he questions the helpfulness of the expansive present as a model—and indeed of models as such precisely because they cannot do justice to this multiplicity. The reason rupture failed to capture the broad range of Christian time, Daswani points out, was not because rupture was not happening, but rather because it was not *all* that was happening. If this is true of anthropology's most established model of

Christian time, he goes on, it is likely also true of the new model that I propose here.

Daswani is right that no model can exhaustively chart the whole range of human experience or even one aspect of human experience, like time. In responding to the limitations of our analytical frameworks, the broad trajectory of the anthropology of Christianity is again instructive. This subfield has developed its critical capacity often because of, rather than despite, accusations about what it seems to leave out (e.g., Brown and Freener 2017; Hann 2014; Street 2010). The utility of models like the expansive present, therefore, stems as much from what they cannot tell us—that is, from the corrections that they invite—as from what they make clear. My aim in developing the expansive present as a model, then, is not to capture every aspect of Christian time, but rather to help us see Christian time in a new way by highlighting one form of it that we have not yet taken up in anthropology. As people continue to point out what this model misses, we will learn even more. My view of the productivity of models is similar to that expressed in Bialecki's response. Bialecki suggests that the broad range of responses that temporal models provoke—for example, the many, many arguments about whether and to what extent Christianity is marked by rupture—indicates that in talking about time we have hit on one of the core problems of Christianity (see also Bialecki 2012). Looking across the literature, it is clear that Bialecki is correct in this estimation. As I outline in my article, the concept of rupture has been extremely productive for anthropology, not least because emic claims about the break with the past have helped uncover long-standing blind spots in the discipline.

The multiplicity of Christian time also provides a starting point for Joseph Webster, whose work on dispensationalism has been essential in helping me identify the differences between this well-known form of Christian time and the expansive present. Webster insightfully suggests that Pentecostal time as I describe it is characterized not by expansion, but rather by a "tightly focused theological presentism." As he sees it, a model of time that erases distinctions among the past, present, and future, effectively bringing all time into the present, contracts more than it expands. In contrast, Webster argues that dispensationalists have a better claim to an expansive and expanded timescape than Pentecostals do, precisely because they maintain a distinction between the times of the Bible, of a prophesied future, and of today. This distinction gives his Brethren informants simultaneous access to all time in a way that cannot be said of Pentecostals.

In showing how Pentecostal time has closed down temporal opportunities, rather than opening them up, Webster has helpfully hit on what I have elsewhere identified as the expansive present's "dark opposite" (Haynes 2019:49). While the majority of my informants lived in the expansive present, the poorest believers experienced the temporal density of their religion as compression rather than expansion, just as Webster argues. What makes Pentecostal time feel like compression for some believers and expansion for others? As I argue in greater detail elsewhere (Haynes 2019), most believers are able, sometimes retroactively, to see God's hand in all sorts of positive events—a child's good exam results, the unexpected gift of cash from a visiting relative, a gentle word from an often-grumpy spouse, relief from a headache in the heat of the day—all of these are understood as instances of divine blessing (also see Piot 2010:71–72). The ability to identify these blessings is a skill developed through what Simon Coleman in his comment describes as "intense forms of interpretive labor" that "[combine] what is described with what is desired." Key here are sermons, both formal addresses by preachers and informal conversations among believers, such as the discussion of Bana Chimwemwe's near-accident included in this article (also see Haynes 2018). The ability to recognize blessing is further developed through "testimony time," a dedicated portion of some Pentecostal meetings in which believers share stories of blessings with the members of their congregations (see Haynes 2017:66). Through such "coconstructed speech contexts," to use Coleman's phrasing again, believers learn to recognize blessing even in small positive occurrences. As a result, for most of my informants, Pentecostal life is shot through with magical expectation informed by clear evidence of God's work on their behalf. Webster (2013:155–163) records a similar pattern among his Brethren informants, and in this respect they share in the temporal processes that I have discussed here.

In contrast to the majority of believers, however, the poorest Pentecostals in Nsofu did not have many occurrences in their lives through which they could identify God's goodness. Their expected blessings were, as Matt Tomlinson neatly puts it in his comment, "asymptomatic." For poor believers, in other words, religion was only about waiting (and waiting, and waiting, and waiting) with little to no evidence that God was on their side. I wrote the article describing this experience of compression alongside my analysis of the expansive present, and Webster's response, together with Tomlinson's question about the "doubts, anxieties, and critiques" that this model of time produces, suggests that the parallel discussions haunt each other. They certainly imply one another, since the possibility of compression is, as Webster points out, inherent in my model of the expansive present.

Webster's critical rereading of the expansive present highlights a crucial element of this model, which in turn points to important socioeconomic factors that shape prosperity gospel adherence (Haynes 2019). Rather than obviating my argument, however, in further developing the comparison of dispensationalists and Copperbelt Pentecostals, Webster has confirmed my observations about the implicit critique of Pentecostal time. Whether they are stuck in a compressed Pentecostal time or they experience the present as expansive, believers on the Copperbelt insist that the life that God has promised them is a life in which their hopes of a better existence should not be deferred. By collapsing the distance between the present and the future, they refuse to wait any longer—even if, as Tomlinson points out, this implies that they are, in fact, still waiting. It is this refusal that I argue constitutes a rejection of capitalist logic. In refusing to wait, to make one final response to

Webster, believers are not submitting to the logic of immediate gratification so much as they are laying claim to the sorts of gains that most people would like to see: stable housing, a reliable job, quality education for their children, and, importantly for Pentecostals, spiritual growth (see Haynes 2012). While it is possible to call such things "immediate gratification," it seems more appropriate to think of them as a set of reasonable political and economic demands.

Turning now to the final theme raised by the respondents, Coleman and Tomlinson each make insightful observations about the collaborative religious work that makes the expansive present a dynamic, creative place. Coleman builds on my use of Valerio Valeri's (2014 [1994]) categories of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations to draw a distinction between what he calls "story" and "person." While story "moves more readily to a known end," and is therefore constraining, person "allows the believer to inhabit the disposition and agency of a biblical figure but with more scope to create new events and narratives." In a similar vein, Tomlinson asks about the role of the audience in Pentecostal efforts to insert themselves in scripture. "Do audiences have the right to refuse a character or insist on a new one?" he wonders. In posing this question, Tomlinson has hit on another aspect of the expansive present that I have not had space to explore here. At a revival meeting in 2013, a preacher at a small church that I call Freedom Bible stated[23] that the congregation was, like those who came out of slavery in Egypt, a "mixed multitude," consisting of both Israelites and those of "mixed" blood—that is, individuals whose identity and loyalty were divided (see Haynes 2018:275–278). By situating members of the church in the text like this, the preacher created possibilities for reinterpretation and contestation. On the way home from the service, a member of Freedom Bible and I talked about who in the congregation was an Israelite and who was not, drawing lines as we did that were likely different from those imagined by the preacher. As this example shows, inhabiting the expansive present by inserting oneself (and others) in the biblical text entails work that is both shared and contested, underscoring the important role that the narrator and the audience have to play in the expansive present.

The agency of those who insert themselves in the text, as well as their audiences, has recently been highlighted by Adam Reed, who makes use of the expansive present in his review of the anthropology of literature and reading (Reed 2018). Reed also draws on the work of another anthropologist of Christianity, Tanya Luhrmann, to illustrate how practices of immersive reading imply the agency not only of the reader but also of characters in the text. In so doing, Reed argues for the particular usefulness of the anthropology of Christianity in efforts to unbuckle the anthropology of literature from literary theory. Reed's generous reading of my work provides a final illustration of the utility of concepts developed within the anthropology of Christianity for the discipline more generally. In the comparative cases they produce, the new analytical spaces they open up, and perhaps especially in the contestation they provoke, discussions taking place in the anthropology of Christianity have much to teach us all. I am grateful to the respondents to this article for helping me to see more of what can be learned from the expansive present, and I hope that our discussion in these pages will invite still more debate.

—Naomi Haynes

23. Following Exodus 12:37–39.

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